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Blacks Walk Out, Others Protest with Silence

by SARAH LARSON

Governor George Wallace had a hard go of it Wednesday, March 28, when four rows of Lawrence black students walked out in the middle of his speech to a standing ovation and by far the majority of the rest of the audience sat motionless and unresponsive.

Proceedings got under way when a country-western band from the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville arranged themselves on the Chapel stage to minimal clapping. Referring to the spring snow, the lead singer joked, "Y'all really push the button on visitors, don't you?" a comment greeted with little laughing.

Eventually, Wallace took his place behind the podium. The isolated groups of nonstudents interspersed throughout the audience clapped enthusiastically and whistled, but most Lawrentians remained frozen, except for a handful who stood up and faced away from the stage, arms folded.

Beginning with, "Ladies and Gentlemen, I do appreciate your tumultuous welcome," Wallace began his talk on a low-key level, attempting to capture the interest of over 1250 people seated before him:

No sooner had he launched into the body of his speech when the black students occupying the four middle-section rows behind the press quietly got up, put on their coats and scarves and left. As the students marched up the aisles, clapping began and soon the majority of remaining students rose to pay tribute.

Wallace resumed his speech as soon as the crowd sat down, but he was obviously shaken. He stumbled over his sentences and had trouble keeping his place. Soon, however, he hit his stride again, demonstrating a milder version of his famous oratorical style.

The speech seemingly was written for a highly emotional and involved audience. He returned to subjects over and over again, particularly those like the war in Vietnam, in an attempt to be hard hitting and whip up enthusiasm.

There was a conspicuous lack of mention of some of his favorite topics in earlier times, like the constitution and states rights. He was directing his attention to taxes and the interests of the "average man."

Occasionally the nonstudent portion of the audience clapped in agreement, but he never managed to whip up emotions, perhaps because those in the Chapel who were in agreement with him were influenced by the masses of deadpan students.

Wallace's closing words were drowned out, as students, realizing that the end was near left prematurely to the sound of chair snapping up and shuffling feet. The country-western band reappeared briefly, but they played Wallace's theme song to a rapidly emptying building.

The vanguard of those who warmed Chapel seats, if not the heart of the speaker, arrived at 5:30 although the doors didn't open until after 7:00. Slowly, people accumulated in the porch, spilled down the steps, and stood patiently on the walk in the snow.

Some students leafletted the crowd while a handful sat on a sheet of green plastic with signs ranging from "I May Be Here Tonight, But I Will NOT Vote

Wallace on April 4," to "Wallace is Big Brother. War is Peace And Freedom is Slavery."

Scattered groups of adults didn't know quite what to make of the tensions running through the crowd. One lady said, "We've always been proud of Lawrence being here, but if they act up like they've acted up in the past . . . well, I don't know." Another man mused, "I don't know if they're for him or against him."

While the students were generally anti-Wallace, a number of the adults in attendance supported him. A gentleman explained, "I live on Social Security. I can't afford to pay those taxes."

He went on to mention a proposed sewage plant to be built outside his neighborhood for which there will be a water tax. "Everytime I water my lawn I'm gonna be paying for something I don't even use."

The majority of adults present, however, were not committed. "The main thing is that we want to hear what he has to say. Isn't that what everyone comes for?"

The students came to listen, perhaps, but also to register their disapproval. Riverview Lounge was crammed Tuesday night as students filled the halls and the window ledges to discuss possible strategy. As Sam Ray explained, Wallace wasn't just any candidate. He emphasized that the speech would be a road show with a band to provide "entertainment which sort of inculcates a warm, fuzzy affection for George Wallace."

It was in the interest of counteracting that fuzzy affection that the Lawrence students stared silently at the Governor for 45 minutes.



WALLACE FROWNS and his campaign men appear unnerved as the crowd leaves hastily after the speech.

A.A.A. Presents Statement Blasting Lawrence Racism

"The members of the Lawrence University A.A.A., who walked out during Governor Wallace's address in the Chapel tonight, did so as a protest not against the Alabama Hillbillies, his Appleton supporters of his campaign, or against George Corley Wallace alone.

"Our action tonight symbolized a unified protest against the racism that permeates L.U. Governor Wallace was not the issue.

"The issue IS the white people who painted anti-Wallace signs, who sat in silence before Wallace, and who walked out tonight, only after the courageous black students moved first.

"We moved to demonstrate the stupidity and naivete of those who believed that Wallace's Klan were the only racists in the bunch.

"The danger of those who believe they are free of the racism they accuse Wallace of representing is greater than they suspect.

"And until they realize this fact, the students of the Association of Afro-Americans will not cease to root out and identify racism in all its forms, liberal or conservative, north or south, Alabamian or Lawrentian."

—GILBERT BOND

This statement, delivered at a meeting in Riverview Lounge held following Wallace's appearance, seemed to come as a shock to much of the audience.

Reaction was immediate and heated. A student suggested, "I think we have to talk about two kinds of racism. One is the kind demonstrated by Wallace and the other is the kind demonstrated by the Association of Afro-Americans."

The members of the A.A.A. took instant exception to this comment. The basic feeling was that blacks were "being used" to demonstrate against Wallace in the interest of the university and that they emphatically did not consider themselves part of the general college community.

It was suggested that students get to know each other through their participation in various campus organizations and that blacks seem interested in joining only the A.A.A. One student felt that the A.A.A. had removed itself from the community of Lawrence and that wall existed between black students and white.

A member of the A.A.A. responded that blacks had never been a part of the college life and that the lack of common cultural background between black and white students precluded a

synthesis of the two groups.

Another stated that blacks do not feel that they must take it upon themselves to break through the wall. The university brought black students to Appleton and then left them in the lurch, doing little or nothing to provide black faculty or advisors or fund black activities. It was brought up that the "university has never made a definite commitment to the black community."

Dean of men Larrimore Crockett explained that the school, having recruited black students, has not considered what it means to be educated as a black student. Blacks are not provided the kind of education relevant to them when they go back into society. He added that the same can hold true for many white students.

The problem, as isolated by Crockett, is to get black faculty and administration.

A black student added, "The only reason we're here is that we have to live in your world," and stressed that the black community needs leaders such as can emerge from Lawrence.

After lengthy discussion and debate, the meeting broke up when extremist splinter candidate Don Dumont took the floor.



MRS. WALLACE was introduced before her husband came on the stage, perhaps in an attempt to lessen the hostility of the crowd. All such attempts were in vain, however: ABC news reported that Wallace managers had decided not to visit any more campuses in Wisconsin.



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Editorials And Opinion

Our Part in the Solution

It may be hard for the members of the Association of Afro-Americans to believe that so many of the rest of the student body were genuinely surprised at the intensity of their feelings about the events of Wednesday night and more important, about the Lawrence community in general. Certainly no thoughtful and perceptive person should have been unaware of the strained relationships among us.

But the fact is that many of us were unaware. In part, the verbal confrontation which took place in the union reflected sheer incredulity by some students that others were hostile toward them.

This incredulity is inexcusable. We are facing a problem of major cleavages within the community. It is unlikely that the discussion which must take place in the near future will solve the problem. Nevertheless, discussion is essential since we must understand the conflict we are facing.

The *Laurentian* can be and fervently hopes to be a part of that discussion. This is no empty gesture. As the school's most potentially far-reaching medium of communication, we must become a forum for argument and analysis.

The more this process involves those outside our staff, the better. Our pages are open for contributions, not only in our letters column, but in the case of especially important statements and well-written commentary, on the news pages as well. We hope to be able to stimulate dialogue between contributors.

Suggestions and articles may be submitted to any member of the *Laurentian* editorial staff.

A Situation Well Handled

It seems almost imperative that some comment be made on the events surrounding the visit of George Wallace. One elder statesman of the student body advised us to berate the protesting group, and there is evidently some feeling that freedom of speech was threatened. Others, of course, demanded stronger action.

At the risk of taking the least forthright stand of all, we believe that what actually took place was about as good a solution as possible, given the extremely complex conflicts involved.

The argument that a more disruptive demonstration would have played into Wallace's hands need not be elaborated upon here. Everyone knows it. We believe it is a valid one. The obvious but subdued resistance effectively made a master showman, who is skilled at taking advantage of frenzied crowds, friendly or not, lose his composure considerably.

The argument about free speech, we believe, would have been more justified if matters had taken an angrier turn. As it was, the speaker was never shouted down, only once interrupted. The auditorium was not packed, in the sense that seats were available strictly on a first-come basis. Early Wallace supporters got their piece of the worm. Certainly no one involved took part in "disruptive behavior" as defined in the LUCC legislation which protects academic freedom.

The problem of minority rights had surfaced before, during Strike Week 1970 and last September when Walter North publicized his political views. Tyranny of the majority is a real danger; however, it appears to us that the abrogation of principle involved is not great enough in these cases to warrant muzzling fervent beliefs held by an overwhelmingly large part of the community.

—GEORGE WYETH

A Higher Brand of Spirit

In the light of our opinion that the form of protest taken Wednesday night was probably the best choice given the conflict between strong passions and individual rights, we would like to add the thought that the students behaved very commendably in a trying situation.

It would have been all too easy at many times for the silent reception of Wallace to have broken up in angry catcalls. With surprising cohesion and forbearance, the group adhered to a prior decision which must have been disagreeable to many.

Strong disagreement with this commendation must be expected from one important group: the Association of Afro-Americans. Their reasons for such views must and will be examined in greater depth in the near future.

However, holding as we do that the form of protest was the preferable one, we congratulate all those involved for showing a kind of community spirit more important than that which brings crowds to homecoming in that it reflected a willingness to sacrifice an opportunity to vent personal emotions in order to achieve the common goal of depriving George Wallace of a newsmaking confrontation.

Letters to the Editor...

Letters to the Editor must be typed double-spaced, kept as short as possible and submitted to the *Laurentian* office no later than 7 p.m. Wednesday evening. All letters thus submitted and neither libelous, nor in bad taste will receive publication. The *Laurentian* reserves the right to make stylistic changes and to excerpt in order to facilitate printing, without changing editorial content. All letters must be signed but names may be withheld from publication for sufficient cause.

Freedom at LU

An open letter to the organizers of the "Emergency Wallace Meeting":

My mind is in darkness now—I am sick, I've been used—AND YOU KNEW IT ALL THE TIME. My name was Andrew Riebs, not "Lawrence Community." I came to this bastion of higher learning expecting to find an intelligent, free exchange of diverse viewpoints. I never realized what a perverse, warped conception of higher education I have possessed. I have finally learned that intelligence means not having to say you're sorry and performing your God-given duty to turn your back to those that you disagree with. I humbly beg the exalted Community to forgive me in these, my final moments of life, before I am consumed by the political cesspool called "Lawrence."

—ANDREW W. RIEBS

McGovern

Dear Editor:

With Wisconsin College and university spring vacations drawing near, it is important for all eligible voters to remember the importance of registering to vote before the March 22nd deadline. Americans newly eligible to vote can make a tremendous difference in the outcome of the November election, and just as significantly, in the outcome of the Wisconsin primary on April 4th.

According to the Wisconsin election statutes, students in college towns can legally register to vote in that town if they have lived there for 6 months before the April 4th primary. You can also elect to register at your parents' home in Wisconsin or elsewhere. I would urge you to register in Wisconsin by the March 22nd deadline and vote in Wisconsin by, either by absentee

Two or three positions are now open as editorial assistants on the *Laurentian*. Preference given to reporters with a term of experience. Submit names to the editor-in-chief.

Newsweek Seeks Election Year Photo

Newsweek and the Konica Camera Company are sponsoring a nationwide photo contest aptly entitled "Focus on Politics '72." The contest is open to any photographer and is designed to capture the mood and spirit of the election year in photos. The contest runs thru November 25, 1972.

Entries may record any aspect of the electoral process.

A total of 105 winners will be chosen, with prizes ranging from a 1973 Gremlin, an Eastern European tour, and a vacation in Hawaii or the Caribbean, and cameras, film, and other darkroom equipment.

Entry blanks and contest information will be available at participating camera shops throughout the country. Any black and white or color prints, or cardboard mounted slides are eligible for judging.

ballot if your school is on vacation, or in person on April 4th. By voting in Wisconsin, you can have a large say in whom you can vote for in November; in exactly who the Democratic nominee will be.

I urge you all to be sure that you are registered by the March 22nd deadline. Then take advantage of your enfranchisement and vote April 4th. I also urge you to back up your votes by working for the candidate of your choice.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MCGOVERN

Nissen Defended

To the Editor:

Your editorial "Financial Aid Budget" (Feb. 25) was perhaps one of the weakest attempts you have made to date to express the proposed intelligence, maturity, and responsibility contingent with the position you presently occupy. Your brief assumptions of "Blown budgets" and Mr. Nissen's ineptitudes astound me.

Precise allocation of Student Aid is about as easy a task as walking on water (a feat rarely performed).

If perhaps you had consulted "Lawrence University Scholarship and Financial Aids" you would have noticed that "Under ordinary circumstances, the new student will be notified of his financial aid offer at the time he receives his notification of acceptance by the Admissions Office." Seeing as how it is virtually impossible to know whether or not a student will ultimately come to Lawrence for his education, and actually receive his allotment of Student Aid, acceptances, as well as Student Aid are offered in excess of the institutions capabilities, thus taking into account the normal number of denials. As a brief discussion with Mr. Nissen would point out, an abnormally large number of students granted aid for 1971-72 chose to come to Lawrence.

If you sincerely feel that you are more adept at making this type of forecast than is Mr. Nissen, or that Mr. Nissen is as inept as you imply, I suggest that you continue with your short-sighted, hind-sighted editorials. On the other hand, if perchance you find your comment of Feb. 25th a bit premature and poorly researched, I suggest you offer Mr. Nissen an apology.

—WILLIAM T. SCHRIER '71

Campus Notes

The Outing Club's spring rock climbing program will begin this coming Thursday afternoon, April 6 at 4:00 P.M. in the basement of the Union. The program will begin with a short "ground" session on the fundamentals of rock climbing. The session will cover basic knots, commands and safety rules necessary for safe climbing.

Those who wish to climb this spring (everyone is invited) are required to attend this or the following session (time to be announced) and pass a short quiz on the material presented. Everyone who climbs will be required to take the quiz regardless of past experience, though you need not attend the session if you have previous knowledge of the material.

Climbing trips will be taken to High Cliff State Park and to Devil's Lake.

Due to the absence from school of one member of LUCC who represented the Plantz-Kohler-Quad constituency, an election will take place on April 10 to fill the vacancy. Petitions of candidacy should be submitted to either Paul Chicos or Dan Toyen. The deadline for petitions is midnight, April 4.

Students who are not receiving financial aid and who are interested in working on campus for 1972-73 should file an employment application some time this term. These are available in the Deans' Office.

Students who have not yet applied for financial aid for 1972-73 should do so immediately. Information is available in the Deans' Office.

Practice for the LaCrosse Club will begin April 1st at the Alexander Gym. Equipment will be furnished and all interested people are invited, both experienced and inexperienced. The LaCrosse Club will play at least one Big Ten school this year. For more info call John Fischer at 739-0482.

The April 7th trip to hear the Chicago Symphony has been cancelled because of insufficient response. Bring your receipt to the box office for a refund.

The deadline for submitting material to the Lawrence literary contest and *Tropos* is a week from today. Submissions may be left at the Main Hall office or at the box in the library.

THE FORTRESS

The Middle Ages built one true home a strange fortress in distant heaven.
The Renaissance brought that fortress down to earth.
Enlarged, doubled and tripled its walls-halls-steeples and turrets.
After? . . . confusion starts. Ambivalence:
A Neither-Nor.
No one quite knows now
what's what; who's who.
Only as much roughly seems certain:
The fortress, whether placed here or beyond,
has crumbled.

—ELIZABETH KOFFKA

ELECTION 1972 SUPPLEMENT

Tuesday Vote May Be Make-or-Break Contest

Next Tuesday, April 4, Wisconsin will hold its 18th Presidential Primary. Technically, its outcome determines only the makeup of the Wisconsin delegation to the party conventions; in reality, the Wisconsin results may have consequences affecting the entire shape of the national campaign.

For the three leading contenders for the nomination, Edmund Muskie, Hubert Humphrey, and George McGovern, the Wisconsin primary may be a make-or-break contest. For the second-line candidates such as Lindsay and McCarthy, it could determine whether or not it seems worthwhile to continue the effort.

Edmund Muskie has his political momentum at stake in Wisconsin. Leading in early polls, his front-runner position has been eroded if not wiped away by his unexciting showing in New Hampshire and poor finish in Florida. An impressive showing here would slow his decline, and possibly put him in front again. A second-place finish would seriously dampen his hopes of regaining the initiative.

Wisconsin provides for Hubert Humphrey the chance to move securely into the lead after hanging in second place for so long. If he should finish ahead of or neck-and-neck with Muskie, he would be the most obvious choice to replace the Maine Senator as front-runner.

Should Humphrey show little more strength than McGovern, however, his chances would be substantially weakened. While he is among the best-known and liked of the candidates, he has trouble getting real enthusiasm behind his campaign. A series of good but lackluster finishes would give him convention strength but not the look of a real winner.

The McGovern candidacy has a chance in Wisconsin to either cement its position along the inside track or fall back with the crowd of dark-horses. McGovern's surprisingly strong showing in New Hampshire gave politicians reason to consider him for the first time a serious candidate; nevertheless, he must do better than that to win the nomination.

In Wisconsin the South Dakota Senator may gain from regional support (as may Humphrey). The big chore for him is to prove that the electorate shares his liberal views. There are signs that his grass-roots campaign may be paying off, such as good showings at nominating caucuses for the convention delegates. Whether this committed support from a few loyalists can be turned into votes remains to be seen.

Cutting into McGovern's strength is that of John Lindsay and perhaps Eugene McCarthy, who almost certainly have no chance at the nomination or even of winning many Wisconsin delegates but could act as spoilers by splitting the liberal vote.

Finicky State

If the Wisconsin primary should have the result of knocking one of the national leaders out of contention, it would only be part of a political tradition. Several times in the past promising candidates have run aground on the shores of Lake Michigan.

Wisconsin is a finicky, unpredictable state, one politicians of the strong organization type dislike intensely. While it is consistently Republican in Presidential balloting, its internal politics are a model of

inconsistency.

Wisconsin went for Nixon in 1960 and 1968 and can be expected to do so again in 1972; at the same time it has very liberal Democrats as Governor and both Senators. It produced both Robert LaFollette, and Joe McCarthy.

Crippled HHH in '60

In 1960, Wisconsin's primary gave Hubert Humphrey's campaign a blow from which it never quite recovered. At that time the Minnesotan was not the party regular, but the maverick with limited funds and staff. He had hoped that a good showing in his neighbor state would give him popular support to make up for the big machine, big labor backing he lacked.

However, John Kennedy came into the state with a great deal of money and a superior staff. In addition, he gained ethnic support because he was a Catholic. While his finish was not as strong as had been hoped, he was able to defeat Humphrey in his own backyard, and was able to finish him off shortly after.

In 1964, the Wisconsin primary attracted much less interest. There was no real competition in the Republican column, where Governor Reynolds was running as a favorite son leaning to Goldwater. On the Democratic side, Lyndon Johnson, of course, had it sewed up. George Wallace managed to get himself on the ballot, but his hopes were clearly dim. He had never campaigned outside the South, and after all, everyone knew that racial bigotry did not extend beyond the Mason-Dixon line.

George Wallace won 34 per cent of the 1964 Democratic primary vote. It did not mean a serious challenge to the President, of course. But for the first time, Wallace was able to show that there was discontent within the Democratic party in the North as well as the South over civil rights attitudes.



For the first time it was conclusively demonstrated that the ethnic, lower-middle class neighborhoods were full of resentment against black progress and resistance to integration.

End of the Mandate

In 1968, Johnson had already bowed out several days before the Wisconsin primary. However, his decision to do so may have been at least partly affected by his poor prospects there. As the primary approached, it became increasingly clear that McCarthy would win. Theodore White wrote, "In Wisconsin one could see naked the end of the Johnson mandate."

Wisconsin is not the only pivotal primary; a win here might be negated by losses in Oregon or California. Even so, the election this April 4, the first that many of the Lawrence community have been able to participate in, may greatly determine who will, or more likely who will not be President of the United States for the next four years.



Democratic Nomination Hopefuls Create "Instant Populist" Image

by JON MOOK

In a McLuhan-Age campaign of Madison Avenue advance-men, 30 second T.V. spots, and computerized saturation mailing, what is essential for the "selling of the President" is the creation of an image that will appeal to the almost myth-like great center of the American electorate.

With Richard Nixon presenting the image of The President as a peacemaker who winds down the Vietnam War and shakes hands with Chairman Mao, the hopeful Democratic candidates have all become "instant populists" identifying with the "people" against an aloof President in Washington who has ties to big business.

Compared to The President, The Populist isn't such a bad image to project since voters today seem most concerned about problems directly affecting them such as the economy, high taxes, and busing. Vietnam seems strangely far away compared to its immediacy in 1968, but the problems affecting the voter's pocketbook remain close at hand.

Clearly the most troublesome aspect of the economy is the unacceptably high level of unemployment which even Administration spokesmen admit will not be much below 5.5 percent by election day.

But Nixon is in trouble even among those voters who have jobs. George Meany's long standing feud with Nixon climaxed by his walking off the Pay Board may result in organized labor rallying behind the Democratic Party as it hasn't done in many years, depriving Nixon of the much needed blue-collar vote.

Rising food prices, especially for meat which is not covered by the freeze, has also caused a housewives rebellion in many

areas of the country that may cut into some of Nixon's traditional middle-class suburban support and further increase his credibility gap over the success of Phase II.

The problem of credibility is not limited to the economy however. Many voters seem disillusioned with government in general and question whether any of the candidates can fulfill their campaign promises. The statement by a Miami drawbridge tender to a Time correspondent seems to typify the feelings of many voters: "All I want is someone who won't give me a screwing."

The Populist can use this rising discontent to his own best advantage by projecting the image of a candidate who will listen to the problems of the average voter and try to do something about them. Each of the major Democratic contenders attempts to present this image, and the size of their primary totals seems to be an indication of how successful they have been.

Edmund Muskie's biggest flaw may be that he is slightly aloof and uncomfortable in large crowds resulting in little voter empathy. His not so stunning victory in New Hampshire and his poor showing in Florida, however, seem to have occasioned a change in the Muskie style. The "new Muskie" is distinctly The Populist attacking The President on the economy, the war, and ties to big business.

Campaign advertisements bill Hubert Humphrey as "the people's Democrat," and his "armpit politics" of hoopla and handshaking are in sharp contrast to the Muskie reserve. "There is no real difference between Ed Muskie and me on the issues," says Humphrey. "The only differences are in our personalities and styles." If a

rejuvenated Muskie generates no more enthusiasm as the old one with the voters, Humphrey backed by strong labor support may emerge as the strongest contender in Miami.

By capturing 37 percent of the New Hampshire vote, George McGovern proved he was no longer a one issue candidate with limited appeal. The heart of McGovern's platform is a plan for income redistribution and tax reform. The program is aimed at the working man whose paycheck is being increasingly eaten up by tax increases; and, according to Time correspondent Jess Cook, "perhaps no Presidential aspirant since Huey Long has proposed so sweeping an economic change."

But the wild card in this game of populist poker must certainly be George Wallace. Mixing populism, corn pone, and soft-sell racism Wallace came up with a winning combination in Florida by capturing 42 percent of the vote and sending the Democrats into disarray.

While school busing was Wallace's biggest issue in Florida, he is also hammering hard at tax reform and frustration at government bureaucracy. "Pairing away the vast differences in their programs and style," says Newsweek editor Kenneth Auchincloss, "Wallace is making essentially the same point about the unresponsive system and overcentralized government that Robert Kennedy made in his campaign four years ago."

Although Wallace has no illusions about winning the Democratic nomination, he predicts "we gonna shake up the Democratic party. We gonna shake it to its eye teeth;" and, if no candidate is able to deal constructively with the frustrations that Wallace deals with negatively, he just might do it.



RICHARD M. NIXON (AP Photo)
Why is this man smiling?

The Incumbent

President Tries To Protect Lead While Avoiding Actual Campaign

by GEORGE WYETH

The central figure in the elections of 1972 presently stands away from, if not above the battle. Richard Nixon, President of the United States, will play the delicate game of keep-in-the-spotlight without campaigning until he is officially renominated in July.

He is at this time at the highest level of his popularity in over a year, having boosted his poll points substantially with his trip to Red China. A visit to Moscow in April will help to keep him high in the straw votes.

On the domestic side, the President has been almost equally successful in making

news, but not without causing some friction. The fight over the Wages and Prices Board, which saw four of the five union representatives walk off, forcing Nixon to drop four business representatives, may work for or against him.

He is hoping that George Meany is out of line with the rank and file of labor; if this is true, the union leaders can be made to look like they are throwing the monkeywrench in the economic recovery mechanism, and Nixon will score points with the public as he did when he lashed into the AFL-CIO at its own convention last fall.

If the mass of working men follow Meany, Woodcock (UAW), I.W. Abel (Steelworkers), and Tony Boyle (Miners), the Republican campaign may meet its first real challenge. Nixon depends on at least part of the labor vote to follow him on foreign policy and perhaps bussing. If they are alienated on bread-and-butter issues, however, there is little chance of this occurring.

More important in maintaining Republican support among the work force than a dispute with labor leaders is the economy itself. There seems to be moderate improvement across the board, but the recovery does not have the momentum to en-

Attachment to Nixon is strictly rational and unexcited, businesslike. He has never excited public opinion as did Lyndon Johnson, either positively or negatively. People either loved or hated Johnson; they either like or dislike Nixon.

The President is aware of this facet of his personality, and commented on it for TIME: "I think the idea is rather prevalent... that what the country needs is a spectacular, if not flamboyant, charismatic figure as a leader. There are some others, however, who might say that... you had better make the choice in terms of an individual who is totally cool, detached, and with some experience. Now I am not describing anybody, of course."

In keeping with his style, Nixon rarely makes dramatic decisions, preferring to hash out a compromise or paper things over until they work out. This avoids frequently offending groups of voters and politicians, and in the short run keeps things running more smoothly. In the long run, this policy may be responsible for his reputation of having a coldly political, used-car-salesman personality.

The Rare Exceptions

When Nixon does make a big decision, of course, it is usually a whopper: the Cambodian in-

"Watching Richard Nixon run for President is one of the duller interesting things in an election year."

sure that it will last until November. Already there are signs that although unemployment is falling, inflation has not been checked.

As far as outright campaigning is concerned, Nixon is maintaining a moratorium. He is careful not to appear in primary states near election-time, and is steering clear of strictly partisan statements.

The policy of keeping a low profile, which has been maintained throughout the administration, will be carefully continued until July. The President does not make public appearances or keep close relations with the press except for showcase outings such as the China trip.

By keeping out of the line of fire, Nixon can hope to avoid giving the Democratic candidates campaign fuel, keeping the fight within their own party. He also may be able to avoid any missteps or unguarded statements which could undermine his carefully cultivated popularity.

Watching Richard Nixon run for President is one of the duller interesting things in an election year. It has to be interesting, because the man is so hard to figure out: he is consistently noncommittal in a way that makes it seem like something is just about to happen.

The dull part is waiting for it to happen.

Unemotional Appeal
Nixon is not particularly charismatic, and he knows it.

McCloskey, Ashbrook Buck GOP In Vain Attempts to Reform Party

The lot of a Republican challenger in 1972 is not an easy one. Democrats such as Vance Hartke and Patsy Mink have little to lose in declaring themselves splinter candidates; the two Republican congressmen who dared to run against the President, on the other hand, have committed public treason to the party.

The only hope for John Ashbrook and Paul McCloskey was to pick up a sizable percentage of the vote in New Hampshire. McCloskey got 20 percent, and Ashbrook 9 percent, not enough for either to justify continuing the fight to Wisconsin, Oregon, and California. Both are now back home mending fences, trying to save their own Congressional seats.

McCloskey is a relatively new congressman from California. He got national attention when he beat Shirley Temple Black in the race for the Republican nomination, and took office in 1967.

McCloskey's four years in the House of Representatives did not bring him any particular distinction, as is usually the case with young congressmen. In the 1969-70 session, he was a strong party loyalist, winning a Congressional Quarterly score of 71 percent support for the Administration.

In 1971, however, he began to increasingly show his dissatisfaction with the Nixon leadership, supporting the President on only 46 percent of the votes tested. On the seven most important votes of the year, he backed the administration only twice.

In July, McCloskey declared himself an alternative candidate for the Republican nomination, on the grounds that he could not support Nixonian domestic or foreign policy.

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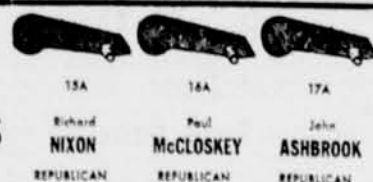
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The Spoiler

George Corley Wallace: Democrat or Demagogue?

by SUE JANSKY

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MOST OF
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STUDENTS
SHOULD
PICK THEM
UP



RICHARD M. NIXON (AP Photo)
Why is this man smiling?

The Incumbent

President Tries To Protect Lead While Avoiding Actual Campaign

by GEORGE WYETH

The central figure in the elections of 1972 presently stands away from, if not above the battle. Richard Nixon, President of the United States, will play the delicate game of keep-in-the spotlight without campaigning until he is officially renominated in July.

He is at this time at the highest level of his popularity in over a year, having boosted his poll points substantially with his trip to Red China. A visit to Moscow in April will help to keep him high in the straw votes.

On the domestic side, the President has been almost equally successful in making

news, but not without causing some friction. The fight over the Wages and Prices Board, which saw four of the five union representatives walk off, forcing Nixon to drop four business representatives, may work for or against him.

He is hoping that George Meany is out of line with the rank and file of labor; if this is true, the union leaders can be made to look like they are throwing the monkeywrench in the economic recovery mechanism, and Nixon will score points with the public as he did when he lashed into the AFL-CIO at its own convention last fall.

If the mass of working men follow Meany, Woodcock (UAW), I.W. Abel (Steelworkers), and Tony Boyle (Miners), the Republican campaign may meet its first real challenge. Nixon depends on at least part of the labor vote to follow him on foreign policy and perhaps bussing. If they are alienated on bread-and-butter issues, however, there is little chance of this occurring.

More important in maintaining Republican support among the work force than a dispute with labor leaders is the economy itself. There seems to be moderate improvement across the board, but the recovery does not have the momentum to en-

Attachment to Nixon is strictly rational and unexcited, businesslike. He has never excited public opinion as did Lyndon Johnson, either positively or negatively. People either loved or hated Johnson; they either like or dislike Nixon.

The President is aware of this facet of his personality, and commented on it for TIME: "I think the idea is rather prevalent... that what the country needs is a spectacular, if not flamboyant, charismatic figure as a leader. There are some others, however, who might say that... you had better make the choice in terms of an individual who is totally cool, detached, and with some experience. Now I am not describing anybody, of course."

In keeping with his style, Nixon rarely makes dramatic decisions, preferring to hash out a compromise or paper things over until they work out. This avoids frequently offending groups of voters and politicians, and in the short run keeps things running more smoothly. In the long run, this policy may be responsible for his reputation of having a coldly political, used-car-salesman personality.

The Rare Exceptions

When Nixon does make a big decision, of course, it is usually a whopper: the Cambodian in-

"Watching Richard Nixon run for President is one of the duller interesting things in an election year."

McCloskey, Ashbrook Buck GOP In Vain Attempts to Reform Party

The lot of a Republican challenger in 1972 is not an easy one. Democrats such as Vance Hartke and Patsy Mink have little to lose in declaring themselves splinter candidates; the two Republican congressmen who dared to run against the President, on the other hand, have committed public treason to the party.

The only hope for John Ashbrook and Paul McCloskey was to pick up a sizable percentage of the vote in New Hampshire. McCloskey got 20 percent, and Ashbrook 9 percent, not enough for either to justify continuing the fight to Wisconsin, Oregon, and California. Both are now back home mending fences, trying to save their own Congressional seats.

McCloskey is a relatively new congressman from California. He got national attention when he beat Shirley Temple Black in the race for the Republican nomination, and took office in 1967.

McCloskey's four years in the House of Representatives did not bring him any particular distinction, as is usually the case with young congressmen. In the 1969-70 session, he was a strong party loyalist, winning a Congressional Quarterly score of 71 percent support for the Administration.

In 1971, however, he began to increasingly show his dissatisfaction with the Nixon leadership, supporting the President on only 46 percent of the votes tested. On the seven most important votes of the year, he backed the administration only twice.

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UP



The Favorites

McGovern Promotes Tax Reform, Lower Defense Budget, Amnesty

by JENNIFER SHAW

The name of George McGovern, one of the leading contenders for the Democratic nomination, will appear on the ballot in the Wisconsin state primary on April 4. McGovern has served two terms in the House of Representatives and is presently a second term member of the Senate, representing the state of South Dakota.

In his campaign speeches throughout the country, McGovern has emphasized his intentions to redirect the course of our national economic life. Several proposals have been made by the Senator as means of accomplishing this.

McGovern suggests that a tax reform is needed to close the loopholes that have long benefitted special interest groups

at the expense of lower and middle income taxpayers.

Higher corporate and profit taxes are also part of McGovern's plan. In 1968, McGovern proposed legislation which would eliminate tax surcharges. As a substitute, an excess war profits tax would be placed on corporations.

Other McGovern proposals designed to restore the economy to health include a provision that a percentage of profits of industries involved in defense and government contracts be set aside in a fund. This fund would be used to convert industry to peacetime or non-government work. McGovern feels that it is unnecessary to have idle laborers if the nation moves to meet its needs in both urban and rural areas.

Small-business Aid

A fund designed to provide the same protection against bankruptcy to small businesses and industries that is now provided for giant corporations has also been proposed by McGovern. In the same light, he sees a need to place permanent limits on price increases by monopolies. Income tax reforms are also deemed necessary by the Presidential aspirant.

War to Peace Conversion

McGovern was the first member of Congress to propose a national program for economic conversion. He insists that changing national priorities need not result in higher taxes or damage to the defensive capabilities of the country.

As a part of his Peacetime Transition proposal, McGovern has worked out a detailed plan to trim the Pentagon budget over the next three years. During the period of conversion from war to peace production, assistance would be given to industries. Monetary and educational aid would be given to workers who feel the impact of changing job requirements.

First Against The War

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In a Senate speech in 1963, the South Dakota politician first began to speak out against military involvement in Indo-China. Senator McGovern firmly believes that the Vietnam War must come to a close. He voted for the Hatfield-Nelson amendment (1967) and the Hatfield-Goldwater amendment (1970) to end the draft and create a volunteer army. McGovern was in agreement with the Proxmire amendment of 1968 which called for a reduction of funds for B-52 bombing in Vietnam. In 1970, he voted in favor of the Proxmire amendment to prohibit the use of draftees in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

In addition to his concern for the present Vietnam situation, the Senator also has strong ideas about the entire foreign program. He feels that we should not allow our foreign policy to be guided by only one criterion, that of anti-Communism. As the originator of the proposal of amnesty for draft resisters, McGovern believes that those deserters in jail or in another country should be regarded on an individual basis via a civilian panel.

Women's Rights

With regard to the status of women, McGovern feels that the Equal Employment Commission must be empowered to enforce the law. Only in this way can it be insured that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act will not be evaded.

The Senator hopes to see more qualified women gaining positions on high level Presidential advisory boards, the Cabinet, the National Security Council, and the Supreme Court. He feels that discrimination against women is "socially wasteful" and that moves should be made "to insure, not just encourage, equal status for women."

Maine Senator Slipping, But Still At Head Of Pack

by GEORGE WYETH

For Edmund Muskie, it had to happen. He had been the front runner for too long. When his adequate but not substantial vote in New Hampshire was followed by a rather dismal showing in Florida, the word got out that he was on the skids.

Whether or not it is true that Muskie is no longer the front-running Democrat, predictions of his doom are almost certainly premature. The Maine Senator probably has the best reserve of support among party leaders, who were still declaring for him as the initial primary results came in. While the new convention rules prevent boss domination of delegations, help from popular governors and senators can still be crucial.

Furthermore, there was the relatively ignored Illinois primary, where he captured 65 per cent of the preference vote against Eugene McCarthy, and most of the pre-committed convention delegates.

Still, his commanding position in the polls and the party has largely disappeared. More defeats in the primaries could cause some of his political allies to quickly lose their devotion. Wisconsin, especially, could cripple him if the next strongest opponents, Humphrey and McGovern should even match his support.

On the other hand, a good win in Wisconsin — say seven of the ten districts — followed by successes in the next few primaries, could put him back in the lead.

If he can stop his slide and show himself to have a sizable base of firm support, Muskie can go into the convention as well off as any of the others.

To a TIME reporter, he in-

sisted, "I've always done better as an underdog. I'm not sure I'm an underdog now, but I've got an uphill fight."

Blank and Fuzzy?

The chief criticism of the Maine senator has been that he is a blank on issues, that his position and sincerity are fuzzy. In part this reflects a basic fact of political life in America which faces every front runner.

The fact is that any man who gets the nomination, unless he is a national hero, is a compromise candidate. There is no faction in either party strong enough to throw the nomination to its man. The nominee is ultimately the man upon whom many groups, most of whom prefer other candidates, can all agree.

For the front runner, this means that every policy statement or firm declaration cuts into his compromise value. For this reason, his best initial policy is to keep his mouth shut.

The other blade of the scissors and the one that may have caught Muskies, is that silence does not win avid support. When he is so noncommittal as to be boring, or when one issue is so dominant as to throw an election to the man who is most vocal on that point (as in Florida), the strategy fails.

New Strategy

Now out of the lead, Muskie can attempt to build up some support by hitting out more explicitly on the issues. For example, after Florida he vilified Wallace as did no one else: "I hate what he stands for. This election result reveals to a greater extent than I had imagined some of the worst instincts of which human beings are capable."

If he begins to step more boldly on the issues, however, can Muskie prove that he is not an

Edmund-come-lately? The war is above all McGovern's issue, appeals to labor Humphrey's ballpark. On other problems where no one candidate is predominant, it will still be hard to convince voters that his sudden show of expertise and opinion is















with the best of them, keeping as his hole card the fact that he is more acceptable to the left than Humphrey, more acceptable to the right than McGovern. He could not unify the party as Kennedy might, but he could hold most of it together.



more than platform-deep.

Next Tuesday's results may be extremely important to Edmund Muskie. If he shows up well enough to have apparently stopped his decline, he can fight

If, on the other hand, the Wisconsin voters seem to be interested in selling their stock in Muskies and buying Humphrey's or McGovern's, the decline could turn into an avalanche.

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PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BALLOT													
VOTE for ONE													
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1A	2A	3A	4A	5A	6A	7A	8A	9A	10A	11A	12A	13A	14A
Eugene J. McCARTHY	Shirley CHISHOLM	Willard D. MILLS	Patsy T. MINK	George S. McGOVERN	Samuel YORTY	Hubert H. HUMPHREY	Vance HARTKE	John V. LINDSAY	Edmund S. MUSKIE	Henry M. JACKSON	George WALLACE	Name of names shown	WRITE IN CANDIDATE (USE SLIDE 14)
DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC		DEMOCRATIC



EDWARD M. KENNEDY (AP Photo)
Why is this man biting his lip?

Non-Candidate Kennedy Waits For Future Elections

by TERRY KENT

The statement: "I have said I am not a candidate and I don't believe in drafts. I can't see myself reconsidering under any circumstances," just about sums up Senator Edward Moore Kennedy's views on his chances of being the Democratic nominee for President this year.

While Kennedy has not as such issued a Shermanesque statement, "If nominated I will not run; if elected I will not serve," it does appear that the 40-year old Senator from Massachusetts wants nothing to do with this year's election.

That is not to say that Kennedy has given up all hopes of ever following in his brothers footsteps. Because of his youth, 40, Teddy Kennedy could conceivably be a candidate in the year 2000, seven election years away.

But as it stands right now, he is not running nor campaigning in the primaries, but that is not to say that he is not under consideration for the nomination.

Probable explanations for Kennedy's non-candidacy are numerous, but four stand out in importance.

First of all there is the memory of the incident in July, 1969, when a car driven by Kennedy went off of a bridge on Chappaquidick Island, killing Mary Jo Kopechne. There are still doubts on many people's minds as to what really happened that night.

Kennedy feels that the incident is closed, but do others? If he panicked in that situation, what would happen to him under the

tremendous pressures of the Presidency?

If Chappaquidick is not enough to scare Kennedy and his entire family, then the lingering thoughts of the assassinations of his two brothers, John and Robert, must. Could he and his family, including his mother, nephews, nieces, sisters-in-law, etc., endure the anguish remembering those deaths. Kennedy himself is a fatalist, as was his brother Bobby, and has often dropped little lines referring to the "curse" over the Kennedy family. Some of his closest aids have expressed their opinions that if he runs, there will surely be attempts on his life.

Kennedy does believe, contrary to many, that a victor will emerge out of the primaries, thus negating the possibility of some back room politics in the July convention.

Despite these factors against him, there are many who think that Kennedy is the only one who can win for the Democrats in '72.

If no clear-cut victor emerges from the primaries, or if no candidate seems to be catching on big within the party, the National Convention could very well be deadlocked. A deadlocked convention is probably the best way for Kennedy to get the nomination.

He is probably one of the few people in the party that appeals to such a diverse group of people. Kennedy has a strong following among the youth, elderly, minority groups, hard hats, and many important stalwarts in the Democratic Party.

His record in the Senate tends to back this up. As Chairman of both the Health Subcommittee and Refugee Subcommittee he has introduced much legislation favoring the elderly and minority groups.

His liberal record in the Senate has won to his side many of the youths. He played a key role in the passage of the 18-year old suffrage amendment. He has held liberal positions on gun control, open housing, aid to American Indians, and civil rights.

He has called for the complete withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, and to some extent Europe, and has done much in the way of draft reform. He is, however, against the all-volunteer army, favoring a draft lottery with no deferments.

Kennedy has also been a thorn in the side of the current Presidency, opposing such administration backed policies as the ABM, SST, and the Carswell and Haynsworth Supreme Court nominations.

Yet he still maintains "I feel it in my gut that it is the wrong time, it is too early." Ted Kennedy must feel obligated to fill the void left by the death of his two brothers. He has the Kennedy charm and has been heralded as the best politician of the three. He still has many years left in the political spotlight, so he will be a force to reckon with in future campaigns, but perhaps not this one.

Wisconsin Primary Will Be Crucial Test for Humphrey

by BARB BILL

The Wisconsin Primary is a very important one for Hubert Humphrey in 1972. This is his "do or die" election. At 60, the Democratic Presidential contender is beginning to be considered part of the "over-the-hill gang" who will not get another opportunity like this.

The Humphrey movement is strengthening and the candidate is a frontrunner because of his good showing in the Florida primary. The Wisconsin and California primaries should prove decisive in his battle with Ed Muskie.

Humphrey is an excellent campaigner, tireless, energetic and warm. He appeals mainly to labor, blacks and older people. His many wealthy contributors make campaign funds no problem. The candidate is slimmer and a bit less conservatively dressed than he was in 1968. His stalwart Democratic groundswell support should peak in Wisconsin at just the right time for a good showing.

Working against Humphrey is the 1968 Chicago convention fiasco and the strong ties he had with LBJ's war policies. He has a "loser" image to shed, and appears to many as soft, inactive, and overly-garrulous.

Recent Quayle polls show, however, that these negative factors have not hurt Humphrey as much as was expected earlier. Anti-war people in Wisconsin, and the nation as a whole, seem to have forgiven Humphrey's earlier pro-LBJ stand. This was helped along by a 90-degree switch in Humphrey's Vietnam position (he's now calling for an immediate pullout) and disassociation with the decisions made about the war for the past four years.

The only two really controversial issues which seem to play major roles are the state of the economy and school busing to establish racial integration.

On the economy issue, Humphrey is calling for the government to supply more jobs, and is backing it up with a bill he has recently sponsored in Congress. His image as one who "understands the common man" is very helpful now that consumers feel the pinch of inflationary foods prices.

Humphrey's Congressional record compares favorably with his economic promises and in the fields of welfare, labor, civil

rights and conservation. Humphrey began his Congressional career as a fiery liberal in 1949-1964. In 1948 he pushed through a civil rights plank to the Democratic Presidential Platform. Humphrey was an ardent New Dealer, and presented a bill



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (AP Photo)
At 60, it may be now or never.

calling for medical insurance for the aged through social security which proved to be 16 years ahead of its time.

His position became more moderate with age, or experience, by the 1960's. However, his voting record changed little during this time. During 1961-1964 his voting agreed with positions taken by the ADA (of which he was a founder) 97 percent of the time, and with that of the AFL-CIO 100 percent.

The school busing issue has hurt Humphrey. His stand appears ambiguous, but generally in opposition to busing. The mood of the country appears to be anti-

busing, but much of Humphrey's support comes from the black community. This sticky situation has already cost Humphrey a top black organizer in his Minnesota campaign, who resigned because of the contender's failure to take a clear stand.

Humphrey is running strongly and is firmly entrenched with party stalwarts, which will give him a lot of power at the convention. Perhaps his major drawback is a lack of excitement. People get tired of looking at the same old political faces. Perhaps the thought of a rerun of the 1968 campaign will be enough to make them turn to a new candidate.



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JOHN V. LINDSAY
Why is this man frowning?

Gene McCarthy Is Back; May Head 4th Party Bid

by JOE BRUCE
Gene McCarthy's candidacy cannot be considered in terms of issues and programs as much as in the character of the man himself. From the beginning he was not the "normal" politician. He didn't play the political game and didn't seem to want to.



EUGENE MCCARTHY
Likeable, but unelectable.

After McCarthy made a name for himself in 1968, and acquired an influential voice in public affairs, he resigned from the foreign relations committee, left the senate, and disappeared into obscurity.

He is campaigning again this year, but he is given little or no chance for the Democratic

nomination. His main threat is the possibility of a fourth party effort after the convention.

In Illinois McCarthy did acceptably well, but his 38 percent was not the spectacular result he needed—and he received none of the state's delegates. So far in Wisconsin, his campaign has consisted primarily in poetry readings around Madison.

The issues he raised in 1968 have since become quite popular and most of the candidates have adopted them. He is against the war, and he would like to see it end outright instead of just fade away. He thinks the money devoted to the space program and superfluous defense programs should be directed to the problems at home.

He supports the building of low-cost housing in the suburbs in order to provide an escape from the ghetto. This would also restore the "blessed neighborhood school" concept, and force everyone to find another way to oppose integration.

McCarthy views his candidacy, and those of Lindsay and Chisholm, as presenting the liberal alternative to traditional policies. He recently blasted McGovern for abandoning the cause of a united liberal front at the convention because of political ambition. The very fact he made that accusation indicated his unwillingness to support the Democratic convention.

The Long Shots

Neophyte Democrat Lindsay Looks To Miami Nomination

by PAUL DONNELLY
Mayor John V. Lindsay, the neophyte candidate of the Democratic Party, is directing a competent but, so far, largely unsuccessful bid for his party's nomination for the presidency. Lindsay, a former United States Representative from New York (1959-1965), was elected Mayor of New York City in 1965. After losing the Republican nomination for re-election, he ran on the independent ticket and was re-elected for a second term as Mayor of New York.

In the middle of 1970, Lindsay (after nominating Spiro Agnew for Vice-President at the 1968 Republican Convention) officially switched to the Democratic Party and is now a serious contender for the presidential nomination.

The first indication of Lindsay's success was in the Arizona State Convention where delegates were chosen for the National Convention. In that contest, Lindsay finished second behind Muskie. After skipping the New Hampshire primary, prematurely conceding that to Muskie, Lindsay received seven percent of the vote (bettering McGovern by one percent) coming in fifth behind Wallace, Humphrey, Jackson, and Muskie.

Political strategists for Newsweek claim that Lindsay's primary objectives are to beat McGovern in Florida and Wisconsin and to equal Muskie in the Massachusetts and Indiana primaries. With these contests behind him, Lindsay plans to beat Muskie in Oregon and California and cash in for a big showing in the last primary before the Convention - his home state of New York.

Yet others feel that Wisconsin could be the make-or-break primary for Lindsay as he is low on funds and cannot continue the present spending rate (he spent between \$300,000 and \$500,000 in Florida alone).

Other than his support of busing ("I approve of busing as one of the tools necessary to achieve school desegregation... racial separation in any school threatens quality education and violates the spirit, and perhaps the letter, of the Constitution."), Lindsay's platform contains few surprises.

He urges penal reform, feels that "big business and commuters should pay their fair share of the city tax burden," and attacks the irresponsiveness of Government to the people (he

created the first Urban Task Force program to act as spokesmen for the people "and to help them to get quicker responses to their calls for assistance and change").

Lindsay opposes an all volunteer army (because of his belief in strong, civilian control of the military), has opposed our involvement in South-East Asia since 1965, and believes that "all war resisters, both draft evaders

and (on a case-by-case basis) deserters, should be allowed back without criminal penalties, but with a stipulation of alternative civilian service."

While Lindsay bubbles with "charisma" and is aided by a high national recognition factor, many party heads see him as a "Johnny come lately" and he is not known to get along with George Meany and other powerful labor chiefs. In the final analysis, Wisconsin does seem to be the make-or-break primary for Lindsay. He must show up well here to acquire (or even justify the spending of) the funds necessary to continue his campaign for the Democratic nomination.



VANCE HARTKE
The first casualty.

Hartke Quits Race Name Still on Ballot

Citing a lack of the necessary funds to continue campaigning, Indiana's Democratic senator Vance Hartke has withdrawn from the presidential race, although his name will remain on the ballot in Wisconsin.

"I shall no longer seek delegates from any other states" and "shall devote my full energies" to the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey, said Hartke.

Hartke's support of Humphrey, however, should have little effect on the Wisconsin primary. John Lindsay called the endorsement "not very consequential," and Henry Jackson insisted it will not "have any major effect on Humphrey's campaign."

Hartke in making his announcement also predicted that the winner of the Wisconsin primary will become the "front-runner for the Democratic nomination" at the party's convention in Miami beach.

Chisholm Campaign A Radical Message

by JOE BRUCE
If Shirley Chisholm had the support of all the women and blacks in the country, she would be a serious threat for the nomination. She has not been quite so successful. She is the most "radical" of the candidates—saying the things the others are too cautious to say or believe.



SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
The radical alternative.

Chisholm and John Lindsay appear the most earnestly concerned with the problems in the cities and the general state of the poor in this nation. Her campaign is directed primarily at poor people.

In Boston, Chisholm addressed a rally of Spanish speaking people. Her message was clear: Vietnam War has siphoned off billions of dollars which could have been used at home. The Nixon administration is withdrawing at an incredibly slow rate, and is unlikely to reallocate the resources.

More attention needs to be paid to the consumers, she went on, instead of the big business and labor interests. The consumer has had to pay for Nixon's reluctance to take strong action to right the economy. Like Wallace, Chisholm would use executive power to implement her programs, if Congress proved unresponsive.

Chisholm is gaining scattered support from many places. Her vote, while not influential towards a possible nomination, is a forceful message that many people want drastic change.

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Jackson Campaign Falters; Needs Wisconsin Support

by MARK CEBULSKI

Watching Henry Jackson's Presidential candidacy slip away reminds you of the helpless feeling you might have watching a battleship suddenly sink from a distant shore: you don't know why it went down, but you can't do anything to save it.

Jackson had many good reasons to expect a strong showing and use the Florida primary as a springboard to the nomination. First, one must look at Florida's thoroughly homogeneous electorate: with its peculiar mixture of urban blacks, suburban Southern whites and liberal Jewish migrants from New York, Jackson staffers anxiously awaited the opportunity to demonstrate their candidate's political prowess in a state which is a microcosm of the national electorate.

Second, the plethora of genuine liberals—McGovern, Muskie, Humphrey, Chisholm, and Lindsay—seemed to hint at a victory for an emerging moderate candidate. Florida, although one of the more liberal of the Southern states, is still not the type of state to go overboard

over liberal candidates. Thus, with the liberal vote split four or five ways, the door seemed open for a clear-cut moderate victory.

Third, Jackson's conservative image, with his Kennedy-style "liberalism" of the early 60's—open-handed at home, yet tough on law and order and tough on defense, plus his Trumanesque, no-nonsense approach to all issues—seemed to be the best mixture of appeal to blacks and suburban whites.

Jackson figured to finish at least second to Wallace, but he failed: Humphrey beat him by three percent, 17 to 14. The significance of such a small difference in such small percentages might be questioned, but the implication is nonetheless lethal: disregarding the presence of Wallace, Jackson still placed second among the bona fide Democrats in a state he not only figured to win, but a state he felt he had to win.

All of this leaves Jackson in a serious position. He must show well in Wisconsin, in order to maintain his credibility as a candidate, if it has not been already shattered. Many

politicians with their backs to the wall have reacted like cornered rats, and have stepped up both the frequency of their appearances and the intensity of their speeches.

But Jackson has not resorted to this strategy, lest he reveal that he is running scared. "Scoop" has maintained his business-like approach, presenting the issues with all the expertise of a corporate lawyer.

It is exactly this image which is at once both Jackson's biggest asset and his biggest handicap. Many voters cringe at useless rhetoric, and Jackson tries not to use it in his speeches, but this tendency also keeps his speeches from having the dramatic import which politicians (especially Presidential candidates) need to motivate voters.

Despite this drawback, Jackson has reason to be optimistic as April 4 approaches. The primary factor in his favor is that Wisconsin is a crossover state. That is, it does not require voters to register in any particular party, and allows them to vote in any primary they wish.

Thus, Jackson's conservative image may attract many Republican voters to the polls. Jackson will need as many of these crossovers as he can get, for with Muskie's Milwaukee labor union support and McGovern and Humphrey's strength in that city as well as in Madison, the liberals can claim the state's major population centers. Indeed, Jackson has concentrated his campaigning in places such as Whitewater and Weyauwega.



Mayor Yorty Makes Bid As 'Maverick' Democrat

by HOKAN MILLER

Mayor Yorty was born in Nebraska, moved to Southern California in the 1920's, serving in the state legislature and two terms in Congress in the 1950's. In 1961 he began the first of three terms as mayor of Los Angeles. Yorty has lost three times in bids for the U.S. Senate in the 1940's and 50's, and twice for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1966 and 1970.

Yorty is considered an old-fashioned hardliner, on such subjects as Vietnam, anti-communism, and law and order. He is a maverick Democrat who frequently has supported Republican candidates, including President Nixon.

While Yorty was mayor, he made six trips to Vietnam, with the result that Los Angeles is called "the only city with a foreign policy".

Despite his maverick appearance and apparently slim



SAM YORTY
The opposite of Chisholm.

chances, people who have worked with Yorty respect his ability as a politician. He has been likened to Pigpen, the cartoon strip character who stirs up a cloud of dirt wherever he goes.

Wilbur Mills: Politico Supreme

Wilbur Mills, although almost unknown outside Washington and his home congressional district, is, in his own arena, one of the most powerful men in the American government. His purposes in running for the Presidency may be several.

In the capital, Mills' power stems from his position as chairman of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, which must approve appropriations for such curial programs as Social Security, Medicare, Revenue Sharing, and welfare.

When bills on these subjects reach the House, even the President is often powerless without support from Mills. In the past he has been able to stall such primary legislation as the Johnson 1968 surtax and the Nixon welfare reform.

Mills clearly has no real chance of winning the nomination. It has been suggested that his candidacy is an attempt to provide a rallying point for non-Wallace conservative Democrats, especially those from the South (Mills' home state is Arkansas). He is distinct from the Wallace faction, having campaigned strongly for Humphrey in the South in 1968.

The Mills boomlet may also be a tactic to draw Southern money



WILBUR MILLS
Why is this man running?

away from support of Wallace or Nixon.

Perhaps Mills hopes to gain the Vice-Presidential nomination. He might serve as a good ticket balancer for a liberal nominee, if the convention is willing to accept him.

However, it seems unlikely that Mills would like to sacrifice his critical post in Congress for the more public but powerless vice-presidency.



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LOCAL CANDIDATES appeared Tuesday night in a public debate. From left to right, with office aspired to: Urban Van Susteren, judge; James Sutherland, mayor; Cody Splitt, judge; Janet Van Asten, school board; Mabel McClanahan, school board; Karl Becker, school board; John Livingston, school board; Robert Roemer, mayor.

Mayoral Race Tops List of City Contests

"No" was the answer to the question of the closing of College Avenue given by mayoral candidate Robert Roemer Tuesday night. His opponent, John Sutherland, expressed no definite opinion on the matter, only stating that a decision should be made as soon as possible.



Their remarks were made at a public meeting of all candidates sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Here the Appleton voters listened to and asked questions of candidates for mayor, school board, and judge.

Mayoral Race
The race for mayor presents a

classic contest between a young, inexperienced challenger who says he wants to end "City Hall" politics, and an experienced former mayor who points with obvious pride to the accomplishments of his earlier terms.

Present mayor George Buckley is not running for re-election.

Roemer, a Lawrence graduate, served as mayor for twelve years prior to Buckley's term. He claimed that during his time in office, more progress was made in most facets of Appleton government and education than "at any other time in history."

He repeatedly made the comparison of the office of mayor to that of president of a large corporation, underlining his opponent's inexperience in handling an economic unit of that size.

He also criticized his opponent for "hiding behind generalities," and not making his position on issues clear. "You always know where I stand," said Roemer.

Sutherland, who is still in his thirties, is a graduate of Georgetown University who has most recently served as com-

munity relations assistant to retiring Congressman John Byrnes.

His platform consists of seven planks, one of which is to put into office "someone outside the city hall sphere." He believes that while city hall is indeed aware of problems, it lacks a sense of



ROBERT ROEMER
LU grad wants old job back.

urgency about solving them.

His other proposals include better budgeting and expenditure control; greater productivity of city workers; an aggressive effort to attract desirable forms of industry (those which least increase city costs by pollution or other effects); tax reforms, such as taxing sewer users rather than funding that department by the property tax; and attraction of more Federal Aid to the area.

According to Sutherland, greater control over expenditure could be achieved by giving aldermen more information on the budget and getting it to them sooner.

School Board

Five candidates are competing for three positions on the Appleton school board, two of them incumbents.

Little in the way of specific issues was evident in the discussion of schools at the meeting. One of the challengers, Janet Van Asten, presented views of a considerably more radical nature, including open campus for all students, even on the grade school level.

Mabel R. McClanahan, presently a member of the board, presented as her qualifications a degree from the University of Wisconsin and study at several other schools, and a long list of credentials which included membership on state and national level educational study commissions.

Karl E. Becker, also an incumbent board member, was primarily interested, it appeared, in the financial aspect of the schools. While not advocating



JAMES SUTHERLAND
Youthful challenger favored.

cutbacks in services, he stressed the necessity of keeping costs in check.

John Livingston has a degree in mathematics and a certificate for secondary teaching, and ten years experience in systems analysis. His chief interest seemed to be in vocational education.

The fifth candidate, John Schneider, did not appear at Tuesday's meeting.

Judgeships

The contest for judgeship is between incumbent Urban Van Susteren and Cody Splitt. Van Susteren stressed his many years of law practice and 7 years of experience as a judge; Mrs. Splitt stressed her experience in marital law, which is a primary focus of the judge's duties, and criticized her opponent's record in such matters.

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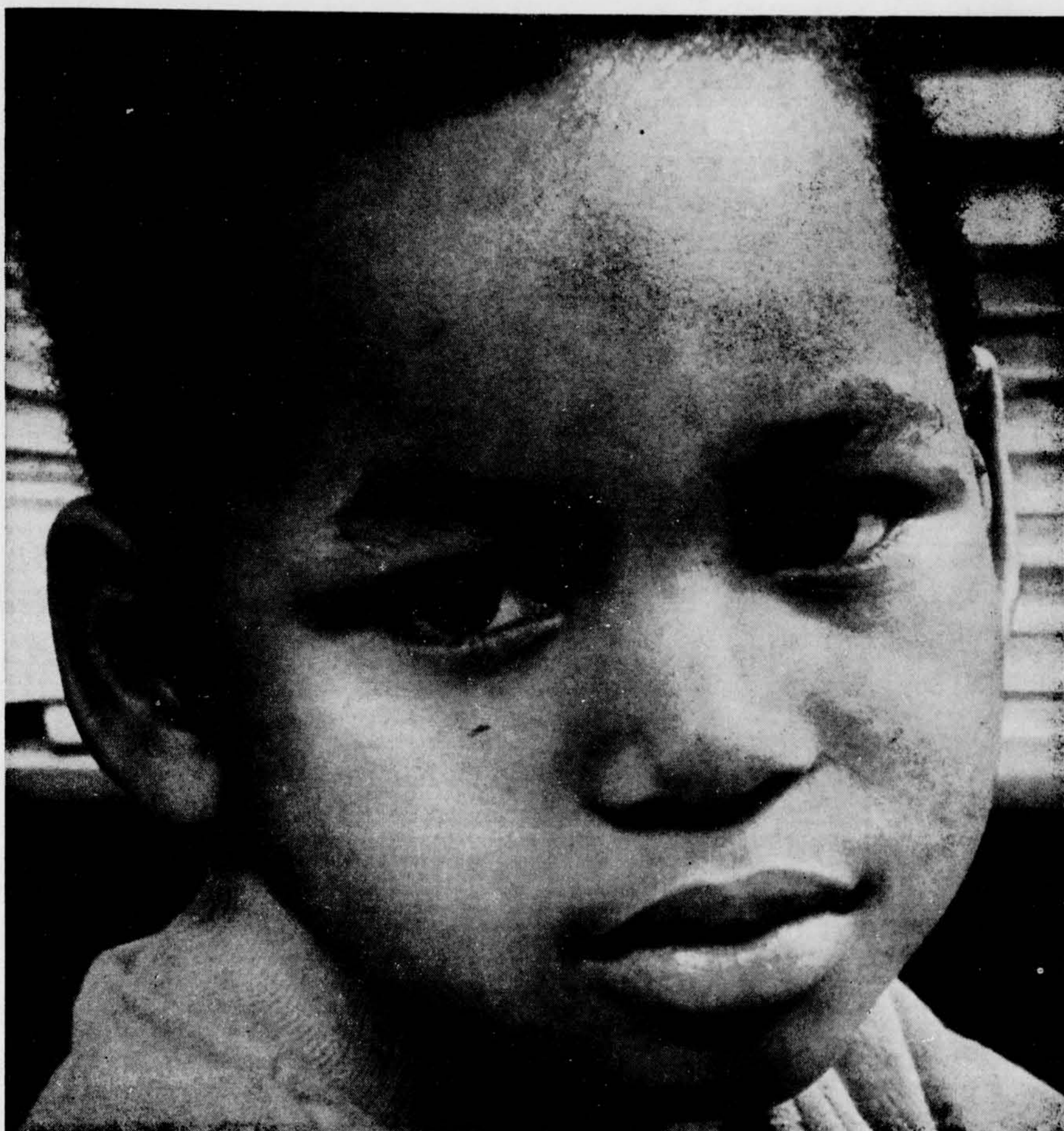


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After all, our business depends on our society. So we care what happens to it.



More than a business.

Soccer team takes 2nd in tourney; win league

The Lawrence University indoor soccer team wound up a highly successful season with a second place finish in a 19-team soccer tournament at Madison Junior High School Sunday, March 12.

The Lawrence team, sponsored by the Ponderosa Steak House in Appleton, was champion in the Appleton Recreation Department league with a 10-1-1 record in the season which ended earlier this month.

In Sunday's tournament, the Lawrence squad posted victories over Green Bay, 4-3; Manitowoc Sports Club, 4-2; and the Chinese Student Assn. of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2-0. In the finals the Lawrence soccer team

lost to the Fox Valley Bombers 2-1.

Selected to the tournament's All-Star team were forward Al Berger, a senior from Elizabeth, N.J., and goalie Hall Taylor, a sophomore from River Forest, Ill.

Taylor, in the four contests Sunday, permitted only seven goals, while Berger, team captain and leading scorer throughout the season, posted three of the Lawrence team's 11 goals.

With the indoor season completed, the Lawrence soccer squad will begin looking toward participation with the Fox Valley Bombers in state-wide outdoor competition starting in April.



THE LAWRENCE BASEBALL squad enjoyed its finest spring trip to date, as the Vikes won three and lost three. This weekend's doubleheader against the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus was cancelled due to snow.

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Viking track team reviews prospects for new season

While the spring term is just underway, the Lawrence track team has been working feverishly to be ready for their opening meet, the U.S. Track and Field Federation Meet, in Madison next weekend. Unlike past years, Coach Gene Davis finds himself with a wealth of middle to long distance runners, but relatively few sprinters and weightmen. This is the main problem facing the team at this time.

Lawrence's perennial strength in the pole vault and jumping events is assured with the return of Doug Gilbert, Lawrence record holder in the vault, and Greg Schneider in the vault to work with newcomer Lloyd Nordstrom and the teaming of Jim Toliver, returned after a year away, and sophomore standout Tom Keith in the long jump and triple jump.

Lawrence's crop of distance runners are primarily un-

derclassmen and it features George "Rocket" Steed and Brian Farmer in the three mile, Joe Ziman and Kent Vincent in the mile, and John Stroemer and Jay LaJone in the half mile.

The weight events are headed by last year's standout javelin thrower Tom Cutler. He receives strong support from Bill Trauba in the discus and Mike Green in the shotput.

The hurdles appear to be well stocked this year with Willy Davenport, conference medalist and frosh record holder, and Steve Swets running the intermediates while Bob Thickens, Bill Wells, and Pete Prunuske take care of the highs.

Coach Davis and assistant mentor Lance Alwin have high hopes for this year's team. Anyone who possesses a strong arm or blinding speed and likes to travel can satiate his desire to visit the Midwest by contacting either coach at the gym.



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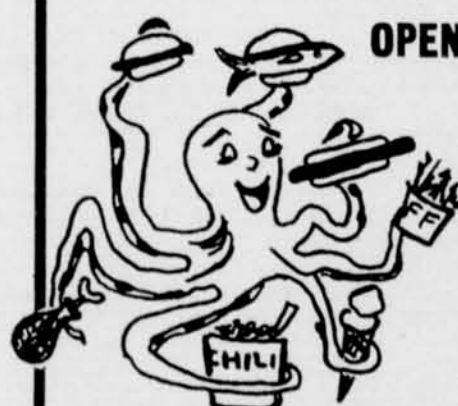


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